

Message Text

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT EDWARD N. LUTTWAK ARTICLE OP-ED PAGE
NEW YORK TIMES MONDAY AUGUST 1 HEADED "UNITED STATES POL-
ICY: BETWEEN THE TWO CHINAS."

2. THERE IS NOW A RENEWED PRESSURE ON THE CARTER ADMINI-
STRATION TO ACCEPT PEKING'S CONDITIONS FOR THE ESTABLISH-
MENT OF FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. IN ESSENCE, THESE ARE
THAT WE ABANDON ALL DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN
TAIWAN, AND THAT WE REPUDIATE THE DEFENSE TREATY THAT RE-
MAINS THE ISLAND'S GUARANTEE AGAINST AN INVASION FROM THE
MAINLAND. THE EUPHEMISTIC CODE WORD IS "NORMALIZATION."

3. IT SEEMS THAT MOST OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CHINA SPECIA-
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LISTS HAVE LOST THEIR EARLIER ENTHUSIASM FOR "NORMALIZATION."
BUT NOW THE PRESSURE COMES FROM A DIFFERENT DIRECTION, FROM
THOSE WHO ARE HAWKISH ON UNITED STATES-SOVIET RELATIONS.
THEIR ARGUMENT IS THAT WE MUST "ACTIVATE" OUR CHINA CONNEC-
TION IN ORDER TO PUT PRESSURE ON MOSCOW TO REACH A MORE AC-
COMMODATING STANCE ACROSS-THE-BOARD, AND IN THE ARMS-LIMI-
TATION TALKS IN PARTICULAR. THE CLAIM IS THAT MOSCOW CAN BE

FORCED TO ACCEPT DETENTE ON AMERICAN TERMS UNDER THE COM-
PULSION OF THE IMPLIED THREAT THAT OTHERWISE WE WOULD BEGIN
ARMING PEKING WITH ALL THAT OUR WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY HAS TO

4. THIS GAMBIT APPEALS TO THE STRATEGIC INSTINCTS OF MANY.
BUT IF WE ARE TO PLAY REALPOLITIK FOR REAL, WE HAD BETTER
FIRST REARM IN A FAIRLY BIG WAY TO COPE WITH MOSCOW'S OB-
VIOUS COUNTERMOVES. EVEN SO, WE MIGHT LOSE MORE THAN WE
GAIN. FOR EXAMPLE, THE RUSSIANS MIGHT REACT BY SPONSORING
A NORTH KOREAN ATTACK AGAINST THE SOUTH. THIS WOULD NOT
ONLY PUNISH US DIRECTLY BUT IT MIGHT ALSO OUTMANEUVER OUR
OWN MOVE, IF PEKING FOUND ITSELF COMPELLED TO COMPETE WITH
MOSCOW IN SUPPORTING THE NORTH AGAINST THE SOUTH, AND OUR-
SELVES. WHATEVER THE WAR'S OUTCOME, UNITED STATES COOPERA-
TION WITH PEKING WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO SURVIVE THE STRAIN.

5. BUT IN TREATING TAIWAN'S 17 MILLION PEOPLE AS EXPENDABLE
IN A STRATEGIC CHESS GAME, WE WOULD LOSE MORE THAN WE GAINED,
EVEN IF WE KEPT THE ARMS SALESMEN OUT OF PEKING. FOR OUR
RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN HAVE ACQUIRED A NEW SIGNIFICANCE IN
NON-COMMUNIST EAST ASIA AS A WHOLE.

6. VIRTUALLY EVERY GOVERNMENT IN THE AREA, AND JAPAN'S
MOST OF ALL, HAS GONE OUT OF ITS WAY TO TELL US THAT OUR
CONDUCT TOWARD TAIWAN IS A KEY TEST OF OUR LONG-TERM IN-
TENTIONS IN ASIA. ABANDONING TAIWAN WOULD BE A CLEAR SIG-
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NAL THAT, UNDER THE AEGIS OF "EUROCENTRISM," OUR ASIAN
INTERESTS ARE MERELY CONTINGENT, AND THAT ONLY OUR EUROPEAN
INTERESTS ARE PERMANENT.

7. IT IS ALREADY BEING SUGGESTED IN THE JAPANESE PRESS
THAT OUR POLICY IS ESSENTIALLY RACIST, AND THAT THAT IS WHY
WE COMPLAIN OF THE BRUTALITIES OF MOSCOW'S POLICEMEN BUT
NOT OF PEKING'S.

8. FOR THE LEADERS OF THE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS IN NON-
COMMUNIST EAST ASIA, THIS IS THE ;OMENT OF TRUTH: DOES
THE UNITED STATES DEFINE ITS INTERESTS THERE IN SUBSTANTIVE
TERMS-ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL
OR DOES IT FOCUS ON THE
STRATEGIC PAYOFF ALONE? HENCE, THE VALIDITY OF TAIWAN AS
A TEST CASE

9. FOR TAIWAN IS THE MOST SUCCESSFUL OF ALL DEVELOPING
SOCIETIES, HAVING MANAGED TO COMBINE VERY HIGH GROWTH
RATES WITH A REMARKABLY EGALITARIAN DISTRIBUTION OF
WEALTH. THIS IS THE ONE HIGH-GROWING COUNTRY WHERE THERE
IS NO FAULT-LINE OF DEVELOPMENT AT THE CITY LIMITS OF THE

CAPITAL. THERE IS MUCH THE SAME STANDARD OF LIVING IN TOWNS LARGE AND SMALL, AND IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AS WELL, AS A RESULT OF LAND REFORM THAT ACTUALLY WORKED.

10. TO ONE WHO HAS VISITED THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, TAIWAN PRESENTS A STARTLING CONTRAST. BOTH ARE NONDEMOCRATIC,

BUT PEKING'S TOTALITARIAN CONTROL REACHES INTO EVERY SPHERE OF LIFE, WHILE TAIWAN'S RULERS MONOPOLIZE ONLY POLITICAL POWER ITSELF, GIVING FREE PLAY TO ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE. (TAIWAN'S PRESS IS RATED AS "SEMI-FREE" BY THE AUTHORITATIVE EXPERTS OF FREEDOM HOUSE, IN NEW YORK CITY.) IN TAIWAN ONE SEES WHAT CHINESE FREE OF DOGMA CAN ACHIEVE, FROM PRETTY CLOTHES TO OPEN DISCOURSE.
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11. WE SHOULD CERTAINLY HAVE FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PEKING, BUT NOT IF THIS MEANS THAT WE HAVE TO CUT OUR TIES WITH THE LARGEST GROUP OF CHINESE IN THE WORLD WITH WHOM WE CAN FREELY TRADE AND COMMUNICATE. STILL LESS CAN WE ABROGATE A TREATY THAT HAS LONG PRESERVED THE PEACE ACROSS THE FORMOSA STRAIT.

12. THE SOVIET MILITARY DIVISIONS ON CHINA'S BORDER WERE SENT THERE BEFORE WE HAD ANY TIES AT ALL WITH PEKING. THEY WILL REMAIN THERE WHILE WE WAIT FOR PEKING TO WAIVE ITS DEMANDS. THE RUSSO-CHINESE CONFLICT IS TERRITORIAL, ORGANIC AND PERMANENT; ABANDONING TAIWAN TO CHANGE THE NAMEPLATE OF OUR LIAISON OFFICE INTO "EMBASSY" WILL NOT MAKE THAT CONFLICT ANY MORE USEFUL FOR US, WHILE PREJUDICING OUR REPUTE FOR CONSTANCY ALL OVER THE WORLD.

,3. EDWARD N. LUTTWAK, IS ADJUNCT PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. CHRISTOPHER

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